## Message Text

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ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /031 W

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FM AMEMBASSY GEORGETOWN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 121

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 1 OF 2 GEORGETOWN 1394

**EXDIS** 

DEPT PASS OPIC

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: EMIN PFOR GY

SUBJECT: REYNOLDS GUYANA - MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER

**REF: STATE 174380** 

SUMMARY: IN 90 MINUTE TALK AUGUST 10 PM BURNHAM ASSURED ME GOG WILLING ASSURE REYNOLDS LONG-TERM ACCESS TO BAUXITE SUPPLY ON TERMS ANALOGOUS TO GUYBAU CONTRACTS WITH ALCAN AND THAT GOG WILL CONCEDE LOWER PRODUCTION LEVY ON CALCINED BAUXITE THAN ON METAL GRADE. HE GAVE NO GROUND ON NATION-ALIZATION BUT ACKNOWLEDGE THAT CONCURRENT TAX PROPOSAL HAD MADE RESOLUTION OF REYNOLDS CASE MUCH MORE DIFFICULT. HE ASSURED ME HE WISHED CONTINUE FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH USG, BOTH BECAUSE OF PAST HISTORY OF COOPERATION AND MUTUAL RESPECT, AND BECAUSE HE RESPECTED US "POWER". HE CONCEDED THAT ONCE PRODUCTION LEVY PRESENTED TO LEGISLATURE FURTHER MEANINGFUL NEGOTIATIONS PRECLUDED AND SAID THEREFORE HE WANTED FURTHER TALKS WITH ME OVER WEEKEND AFTER HE HAD CONSULTED WITH MINMINES HUBERT JACK. END SUMMARY.

1. WHEN I SAW FONMIN RAMPHAL AT 1900 AUG 9 TO PRESENT SECRETARY KISSINGER MESSAGE ON PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION, I TOLD RAMPHAL I HAD INSTRUCTION TO TAKE UP REYNOLDS MATTER WITH PM AND SINCE SUBJECT TO BE DISCUSSED AT CABINET MEETING AUGUST 13 MY REQUEST TO SEE PM NOW SEEMED URGENT. HE SAID HE WOULD GET WORD TO PM. CONFIDENTIAL

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BURNHAM PHONED ME AT 0915 AUG 10 AND ASKED ME TO COME TO

## BELFIELD AT 11.

- 2. AFTER CORDIAL WELCOME, HE SAID HE UNDERSTOOD I WANTED TALK ABOUT REYNOLDS, AND HE HAD HOPED I WOULD COME ALONG WITH RAMPHAL AFTER I MET LATTER EVENING AUG 6 (APPARENTLY REMPAHL MISUNDERSTOOD PM'S INTENTION HERE), AND HAD ALSO THOUGHT OF ASKING ME TO SEE HIM EVENING AUG 8 FOLLOWING OPENING CEREMONY GIRL GUIDES JUBILEE AT WHICH HE SPOKE AND WHICH I ATTENDED.
- 3. I THANKED HIM AND SAID I NOW HAD MESSAGE FROM DEPT SUMMARIZING USG REACTIONS TO NEGOTIATIONS THIS WEEK AND VIEWS REGARDING FUTURE. I THEN MADE PRESENTATION BASED ON REFTEL. SINCE IT HAS BEEN CLEAR TO US HE HAS TAKEN PERSONAL INTEREST IN MATTER ALL ALONG, I ALTERED TEXT OF FIFTH SENTENCE, PARA ONE TO EXPRESS HOPE PM WOULD ENDEAVOR KEEP DOOR OPEN TO SEEKING BASIS FOR EVENTUALLY AGREEABLE SETTLEMENT. I HANDED HIM COPY OF TEXT OF PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGE OF JANUARY 9, 1972 AND REVIEWED APPLICABLE US STETUTES (SUGAR ACT SEC 408 AND FAA OF 1961, SECTION 620 (E)(1)- PLEASE ADVISE IF THERE ARE OTHERS) AND SAID I WOULD FURNISH COPIES IF HE DESIRED.
- 4. WHEN I MADE POINT THAT GUYBAU COULD NOT OPERATE AS GOING CONCERN IF OBLIGED TO PAY TAXES ON SCALE DEMANDED BY GOG OF REYNOLDS BURNHAM INTERJECTED (WHICH I ANTICIPATED) THAT GUYBAU NOT RPT NOT DELIVERING METAL GRADE BAUXITE ON BASIS OF INTRA-COMPANY TRANSFER PRICE BUT ON BASIS OF WORLD MARKET PRICE AND WHEN GUYBAU STARTS OPERATING SMELTER GOG WILL TAX ITS OPERATIONS ON SAME BASIS AS NOW PROPOSED FOR REYNOLDS. BESIDES, HE WENT ON, REYNOLDS ALREADY IS PAYING JAMAICA EQUIVALENT OF WHAT GOG PROPOSES TO LEVY.
- 5. I OBSERVED THAT REYNOLDS HAD SEVERAL OTHER COUNTRIES WITH WHICH IT IS OR IS ABOUT TO BE NEGOTIATING TAX ON BAUXITE AND IT COULD NOT OFFER RPT OFFER ONE GOVT SUBSTANTIALLY MORE THAN OTHERS WITHOUT RISKING PRECIPITOUS ESCALATION. I UNDERSTO-OD REYNOLDS OFFER TO GOG REPRESENTED THREE FOLD INCREASE OVER EXISTING REVENUE TO GOG WHEREAS THEIR OFFER TO JAMAICA WOULD ONLY HAVE DOUBLED GOJ REVENUE. BURNHAM BRUSHED THIS ASIDE CONFIDENTIAL

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BY SAYING JAMAICAN REVENUE WAS HIGHER TO BEGIN WITH AND GUYANESE BAUXITE OF HIGHER GRADE.

6. I CONCEDED BOTH THESE POINTS BUT SAID ONE HAD TO CONSIDER PRODUCTION COSTS AS WELL, WHICH WERE CONSIDERABLY HIGHER IN GUYANA THAN IN JAMAICA. BURNHAM SAID OCEAN TRANSPORTATION IS PRINCIPAL FACTOR IN COST DIFFERENTIAL BETWEEN GUYANA AND JAMAICA, AND SINCE BAUXITE SOLD ON FOB BASIS COST OF

TRANSPORTATION MADE NO DIFFERENCE. I SAID THAT MIGHT BE TRUE UNDER PRESENT TAX SYSTEM, BUT WHEN TAX CALCULATED ON BASIS REALIZED PRICE OF ALUMINUM INGOT (AS IN PROPOSED GOG LEVY) TRANSPORTATION AND OTHER COST DIFFERENTIALS HAD TO BE CONSIDERED. HE CONCEDED THIS POINT.

7. BURNHAM ASKED WHETHER USG PRIMARY INTEREST IS IN ASSURED SUPPLY OF BAUXITE. I SAID THIS WAS TRUE IN GLOBAL CONTEXT RECOGNIZING THAT GUYANA IS NOT PRINCIPAL SOURCE FOR US NOR IN FACT DOES REYNOLDS DRAW MORE THAN 10 PERCENT OF ITS BAUXITE FROM GUYANA. BURNHAM AGREED, BUT SAID HE THOUGHT REYNOLDS HAD BEEN SELLING MOST OF ITS CALCINED BAUXITE IN US. I SAID I WASNT SURE ABOUT THIS SINCE REYNOLDS TEAM THIS WEEK HAD TALKED OF IMPORTANT CALCINED SALES TO EUROPE.

8. BURNHAM THEN SAID HE WAS PREPARED TO CONCEDE SUBSTAN-TIALLY LOWER LEVY RATE ON CALCINED BAUXITE THAN ON METAL GRADE, SINCE THE MAARKETING ARRANGEMENTS ARE DIFFERENT AND IN RECOG-NITION OF RELATIVELY SMALL PRICE MARGIN BETWEEN CALCINED AND ALTERNATE PRODUCTS (EG. TABULAR ALUMINA). KREBS

NOTE BY OCT: NOT PASSED OPIC.

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ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /031 W

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**EXDIS** 

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9. REVERTING TO METAL GRADE, BURNHAM SAID IF REYNOLDS WERE REALLY INTERESTED IN LONG-TERM ACCESS TO BAUXITE IN GUYANA HE COULD ASSURE REYNOLDS GOG WILLING TO SELL THEM BAUXITE AT REASONABLE PRICE ON LONG-TERM CONTRACT. HE CITED

CONTINUING GUYBAU SALES TO ALCAN AS PRECEDENT, AND NOTED THAT GUYBAU IS PRESENTLY NEGOTIATING 1975 CONTRACT WITH ALCAN. HE SAID GUYBAU CONTRACTS WITH ALL CUSTOMERS ARE BASED ON "WORLD MARKET PRICE" OF BAUXITE (HE DID NOT ELABORATE ON HOW THIS IS DETERMINED), WITH ESCALATOR CLAUSE TO REFLECT RISES IN COSTS OF IMPORTS (FUEL OIL, MACHINERY, EQUIPMENT, ETC.)

10. I SAID I WOULD CONVERY BOTH THESE POINTS TO DEPT BUT STILL LEFT US WITH DILEAMMA OF RETROACTIVE TAX-CUMNATIONALIZATION. BURNHAM SAID NATIONALIZATION WAS SUPPORTED BY ALL BUT AN INSIGNIFICANT ELEMENT OF GUYANAESE PEOPLE AND WITHOUT IT US WOULD BE DEALING WITH A DIFFERENT PM (INQUIRING JOKINGLY IF WE HAD ANY CANDIDATES).

TO HIM THIS MEANT EITHER MAJORITY OWNERSHIP AND CONTROL OR OUTRIGHT TAKEOVER WITH COMPENSATION. HE RECALLED UNSATISFACTORY ALCAN DEBT-FUNDED PARTICIPATION OFFER AND SAID MCCONNEL HAD TOLD HIM IN 1971 THAT REYNOLDS WOULD NOT ACCEPT GOG MAJORITY PARTICIPATION UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES. HE AGAIN DISMISSED REYNOLDS FEBRUARY 1974 OFFER TO SET UP SEPARATE CALCINED FACILITY WITH MAJORITY GOG PARTICIPATION BUT UNDER REYNOLDS MANAGEMENT. HE SAID ONE REASON HE HAD CONFIDENTIAL

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REJECTED THIS OFFER WAS THAT REYNOLDS CONSISTENTLY PRODUCED LOWER QUALITY CALCINED THAN GUYBAU, IN SPITE OF BETTER GRADE RAW BAUXITE. LAUGHING, HE SAID IF ANYTHING GUYBAU SHOULD HAVE OFFERED REYNOLDS TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE ON CALCINED PRODUCTION TECHNIQUES.

11. BURNHAM WENT ON TO SAY THAT REYNOLDS NATIONALIZATION QUESTION HAD RUN INTO POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC COMPLICATIONS POLITICAL BECAUSE OF JAMAICAN TAX ACTION WHICH EXPOSED HIM TO INVIDIOUS COMPASSION AND ECONOMIC BACUAYB# OF STEEP RISE IN COST OF GUYANESE IMPORTS INCLUDING FINISHED ALUMINUM. HE SAID GOG COULDNT FAIL TO TAKE NOTE OF FACT THAT REYNOLDS PROFITS (PRESUMABLY WORLDWIDE) WERE UP 600 PERCENT IN FIRST QUARTER 1974 OVER FIRST QUARTER 1973. HE SAID IT WAS "UNFORTUNATE" THIS SERIES OF EVENTS HAD OCCURED BUT HE WAS OPEN TO SUGGESTIONS FOR MUTUALLY AGREEABLE RESOLUTION.

12. I SAID USG POLICY WASCLEAR- WE WOULD HAVE PROBLEM IF COMPENSATION DID NOT MEET OUR CRITERIA, AND WORD "EFFECTIVE" INCLUDED SUCH FACTORS AS UNUSUAL TAX LEVIES AND TERMS UNDER WHICH COMPENSATION ACTUALLY PAID, ESPECIALLY LENGTH OF PAYMENT PERIOD. I ADDED THAT I THOUGHT ONE WOULD HAVE TO TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE EVOLUTION OF BAUXITE OPERATIONS SINCE 1971 IN JUDGING REYNOLDS CURRENT ATTITUDES REGARDING FUTURE ARRANGEMENTS IN GUYANA. IN THIS CONNECTION, I SAID

I HAD BEEN DOING SOME BRAIN-STORMING MYSELF THIS WEEK WITH HELP OF EMBASSY STAFF AND OPIC REPRESENTATIVE. IT SEEMS TO ME THERE WERE SOME ADDITIONAL OPTIONS WHICH MIGHT PROVE PALATABLE BOTH TO GOG AND REYNOLDS.

13. HOWEVER, I SAID TIME WAS IMPORTANT FACTOR, AND IT SEEMS TO ME IF CABINET INTRODUCED TAX BILL NEXT WEEK, AS JACK HAD OUTLINED TO REYNOLDS, THIS WOULD MEAN END OF NEGOTIATIONS. ONCE PM HAD TAKEN PUBLIC STAND ON TAX LEVEL IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE TO REDUCE THE LEVY. I SAID OF COURSE IT WOULD BE "SOMEWHAT" DIFFERENT IF THE BILL MERELY AUTHORIZED THE EXECUTIVE TO NEGOTIATE A TAX, BUT THIS DIDN'T SEEM TO BE ENTIRELY FEASIBLE EITHR.

14. BURNHAM READILY ADMITTED THIS WAS ESSENTIALLY CONFIDENTIAL

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CORRECT, AND SAID HE WANTED TO CONSULT WITH MINMINES JACK AND THEN SEE ME AGAIN EITHER TONIGHT OR TOMORROW. HE IS TO CALL ME AT 1900 TONIGHT TO SET TIME.

15. IN CLOSING, BURNHAM SAID US HAD ALWAYS PLAYED FAIR WITH HIM AND HE VALUED US FRIENDSHIP AND ASSISTANCE BOTH PAST AND PRESENT. HE WANTED TO CONTINUE FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH US NOT ONLY BECAUSE OF THIS PAST HISTORY BUT ALSO BECAUSE HE RESPECTED US POWER. I SAID WE SHARED FULLY HIS DESIRE FOR FRIENDLY AND CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONS, AND THAT IT WAS ON THAT BASIS WE FELT NEED TO DISCUSS REYNOLDS CASE WITH HIM. I ASSURED HIM US AWARE OF "POWER" ASPECT BUT WE ALSO UNDERSTOOD NEED TO USE POWER WITH RESTRAINT.

16. I AM FORWARDING BY SEPTEL OUR THOUGHTS ON POSSIBLE OPTIONS REFERRED TO IN PARA 11. KREBS

NOTE BY OCT: NOT PASSED OPIC. # AS RECEIVED.

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Concepts: NATIONALIZATION, BAUXITE, SUPPLIES, FOREIGN RELATIONS, MINING INDUSTRY, NEGOTIATIONS, TAX CHANGES, BUSINESS

FIRMS, LONG TERM LEASES, MEETING REPORTS

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Review Authority: cunninfx Review Comment: n/a Review Content Flags: Review Date: 16 SEP 2002 **Review Event:** Review Exemptions: n/a

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